



Prelude by Safiya Bukhari 1950-2003

Sisters, Brothers, Comrades:

Organizing and building support for our political prisoners, prisoners of war/captured combatants is and should be a monumental part of our struggle. There should be no problem with understanding how intricate this work is to building a movement designed to win and not just exist. The lack of understanding of the relationship of the captured combatants incarcerated inside the prisons of the United States to the overall struggle for freedom and independence is a major part of the setback to our struggle and a large part of that is due to the lack of an organizing strategy around our political prisoners and prisoners of war.

This organizing manual seeks to help level the playing field and clear out the debris, to make the work around political prisoners and prisoners of war crystal clear. We are involved in a struggle for freedom, independence and self determination. Our political prisoners and prisoners of war came/come out of that struggle. We have been caught up in a less than stellar amount of activity around building support for political prisoners, perhaps because of the less than stellar state of our movement itself. Either way, this manual serves to clear up the murky waters and point us in the direction to go.

When I was in the Black Panther Party, we used to say “Educate, Organize, Educate, Organize, Agitate, Liberate!” or something along those lines. But, the idea was clear, whatever we were attempting to do it began with education and it ended with liberation, or more precisely, educate to liberate! This manual helps us to educate the community and organize them in order to liberate our political prisoners and prisoners of war.

Jericho is a movement - A movement with a defined goal of getting recognition that political prisoners exist inside the prisons of the United States, despite the government’s denial, and winning amnesty and freedom for these political prisoners. While we are working to win amnesty and freedom for these political prisoners, we are demanding adequate medical care for them and developing a legal defense fund to insure legal representation as they need it for all sorts of developing issues. This manual will help you in organizing around these issues wherever you are and help us to build the Jericho Movement!

JERICHO 98

Jericho '98 was the brainchild of Jalil Muntaqim, a political prisoner who has now been incarcerated for more than thirty years. Jalil borrowed the idea from the Provisional Government of New

Afrika’s Jericho March that it had sponsored for about ten years, with the last march held in Washington, D.C. in front of the white house in 1993. Jalil’s contribution was to envision a nationwide Jericho March expanded to call for recognition and amnesty for ALL political prisoners that would be



co-sponsored by the Provisional Government of the Republic Of New Afrika (PGRNA) and the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF). Safiya Bukhari and I visited with Jalil in prison to work out the strategy for this undertaking, and shortly after that visit the call went out across the country announcing Jericho '98 and asking for support. The response was impressive.

The work that was done by the coalition group that was put together in Washington, D.C. spearheaded by elements from the New Afrikan Liberation Front and Provisional Government of New Afrika deserves a strong vote of thanks. When the call went out for volunteers to join the Jericho Logistics Committee in D.C., the response was amazing. The core element of this coalition stayed together and they ran the full marathon. This group pledged to stay together for the second phase of Jericho.

It was clear from the inception that this March on Washington would not find favor with the usa government and that we could expect to have every conceivable roadblock put in our path. This became readily apparent when we sat down with the Washington, D.C. authorities months before the march to apply for permits. More than a half dozen meetings were held with them, and at each meeting new obstacles were raised as they tried one tactic after another to whittle down the anticipated size of our crowd to such petty items as where vendors could operate from and what they could and could not sell. The struggle over vending rights continued to the day of the march, and we learned on that morning that the vendors would have to set-up their stands blocks away from the parade route and no sales or collection of money would be allowed in Lafayette Park, where the rally was to take place. This meant that the flags, the souvenir newspaper, the Jericho T-shirts and other items that were to be sold to defray our expenses could not be sold. The anticipated income from the event would not be forthcoming to finance the Legal Defense Fund or the other post-march expenses. Individual and group contributions have continued to come in and we will continue with our

plans to build a nationwide Jericho movement. Despite the fact that the establishment media didn't give Jericho any coverage, we struck a heavy blow at the main pedestal of america's post-cold war foreign policy. That policy is predicated on the hypocritical lies that the usa is a true democracy with the human rights of all her citizens guaranteed and there are no political prisoners in her jails. This allows the usa to point to other countries like Libya, Iraq, Cuba, China, etc., and accuse them of unacceptable human rights records. Jericho exposed to the world these vicious lies. We punched cracks in the wall of silence the us government has built around the existence of political prisoners and prisoners of war who provide concrete evidence that a deadly struggle is going on inside the usa aimed at destroying this racist, capitalist, white supremacist system which denies her people the right to self-determination or the right to change this system by any means necessary. Jericho will continue to grow and we will bring down the walls that hide the infamy of the usa. This manual is a small step in that direction. Use it as another weapon against our enemy.

**Herman Ferguson,
New Afrikan
Liberation Front**



Definition of Political Prisoner

How political prisoners are defined is based upon not just the objective reality of the conditions to which they either responded to or were victimized by; but also, upon the subjective interpretation of those doing the defining. For example, political prisoners from the domestic national liberation movements of the sixties and seventies are viewed by the State and power structure as no more than common criminals. The movements themselves, as well as and many conscious people and organizations, recognize them as political prisoners.

The Jericho definition of Political Prisoners is anyone captured as a result of their involvement in the domestic national liberation struggles of this country, and those incarcerated because of their actions against capitalist structures as members of social and progressive organizations.

Jericho has as its goal recognition and amnesty for those political prisoners incarcerated because of their participation in national liberation struggles. Jericho's full resources, including legal and financial supports go toward meeting that goal. However, Jericho also publicly recognizes and supports PPs from other causes – national and international.

Definitions of POWs

Those combatants who have been captured while engaging in armed struggle in support of national liberation, or against American imperialism or against white supremacy are regarded as prisoners of war (POW or POWs').

Jericho recognizes that based on the definitions of Political Prisoner and POW there are individuals who, based upon their actions and deeds, have become political prisoners or POWs during their incarceration.

Jericho does acknowledge the Geneva Convention's definition of POWs because of its international acceptance and applica-

tion. Jericho also recognizes and relies on the Geneva Convention's application as it could and should relate to those political prisoners and POWs in the United States as defined by Jericho.

Geneva Convention Definition of POW

A prisoner of war (POW) is a soldier, sailor, airman, or marine who is imprisoned by an enemy power during or immediately after an armed conflict.

The laws apply from the moment a prisoner is captured until he is released or repatriated. One of the main provisions of the convention makes it illegal to torture prisoners, and states that a prisoner can only be required to give his name, date of birth, rank and service number (if applicable).

Article 4 of the Third Geneva Convention protects captured military personnel, some guerrilla fighters and certain civilians.

MISSION STATEMENT

Jericho is a political and social movement that seeks to gain recognition, support, and freedom for all political prisoners and prisoners of war in the United States who have principally struggled, whether or not in armed conflict, against oppression, exploitation, class bigotry, and racism.

This work on the part of Jericho applies as well to political prisoners and prisoners of war, who struggle to secure freedom, justice, and self-determination for New Africans (African slaves and their descendants), for Native Americans, for Hispanics, for Puerto Ricans, for Hawaiians, for oppressed people in general, or for the amnesty and liberation of the politically oppressed or persecuted. In all this work, Jericho seeks recognition,

support, and freedom for all of these political prisoners and prisoners of war despite the United States' refusal to admit that it holds in captivity pp's & pow's who became captives as a result of domestic political conflict within or against the United States.

The role and influence of each political prisoner in Jericho is vitally important and necessary. Jericho gives priority to all political prisoners, always leaving an open door welcoming their input, suggestions, recommendations, criticisms, and advice.

Goals

- To build a national campaign, with substantial international support, that will compel the United States government to admit the existence of its political prisoners and prisoners of war, and grant them amnesty;
- By granting amnesty to our political prisoners and prisoners of war, compel the United States government to recognize and admit to the legitimacy of the struggles for liberation and independence waged by national independence movements and organizations of the sixties and seventies.

Objectives

1. To create and develop a united front with other like minded organizations and individuals around the issue of amnesty for all political prisoners and prisoners of war.
2. To educate communities across the United States as to who are these political prisoners and their life stories of involvement and contribution to the struggles for liberation and independence through the use of:
 - Speaking engagements
 - Public forums
 - Conferences
 - Entertainment
 - Town hall meetings
 - Marches, demonstrations, and rallies
 - Media and newsprint

3. To organize local and regional Jericho organizing committees across the United States to facilitate and accomplish the goals and objectives.
4. To raise money and resources for a National legal Defense Fund to attain legal representation.
5. To organize a Medical Committee to monitor prisoner psychological, health, medical conditions, and treatment.

Organization Structure

STEERING COMMITTEE: The new Steering Committee (SC) will consist of a representative from each of the 6 Regions. A Region may have an additional representative if it has over 3 Chapters and another representative if it has over 6 Chapters, and so on.

Jericho Will Be Divided Into The Following 6 Regions:

1. Northwest region: Portland, Or. and Seattle, Wa.
 2. Western region: Los Angeles, CA
 3. Southwest region: Albuquerque, NM.
 4. Midwest region: Cleveland, OH.
 5. Northeast region: NY, NJ, Philadelphia, PA, Rhode Island, Boston, MA.
 6. Southeast Region: Baltimore, MD, District of Columbia, and Richmond VA.
- * Note: Cities and States mentioned may reflect actual Chapters or Chapters perhaps in the making; but do not exclude or limit what may eventually exist.

What Constitutes a Jericho Chapter

A Jericho Chapter consists of 3 or more people who agree and commit to the mission, goals, and operating procedures of Jericho; who have clear roles of responsibilities; who pay the designated quarterly dues; who file a quarterly progress report; who conduct a Jericho event at least every quarter; and who actively participate in national Jericho activities and events; and who adhere to and follow all instructions and organization protocols.

If there's not already a local group working specifically on political prisoner rights, we encourage you to start a Jericho chapter. Starting a new group can be a fun and challenging exercise. Jericho chapters have the unique position of being connected to international campaigns, while also maintaining the ability to work on local issues.

If you choose to use the Jericho name, you must agree with (the basic mission, goals, and operating procedures of Jericho), as described in this handbook. We are committed to building a grassroots resistance to the governmental war that criminalizes people who want to be free, and in order to do that we need basic unity and a solid communication system

Each Chapter will be approved and recognized by National Jericho before it is identified as such.

To become a Jericho chapter your group must:

1. Include at least 3 or more members.
2. Have a name, telephone number and email address to be placed on JERICHO website and be willing to act as a networking hub with local activists working on political prisoner issues
3. Spearhead local organizing for national and international days of action.
4. Organize a community action program on the issue of PP and support at least once a quarter.
5. Help identify constituents for meetings with elected officials.
6. Identify people in your community most impacted by this white supremacist, murderous empire (USA)
7. File quarterly progress report with National JERICHO which would include community alerts, updates, and organizational progress and problems
8. Obtain and send copies of signatories for the JERICHO database, including any current petitions.
9. Initiate an ongoing group that meets regularly and does the political action side of po

litical prisoner and prison industrial complex issues

10. Share e-mail and mailing lists with Jericho for alerts and update
11. Besides these requirements, Jericho chapters are independent for campaign activities.

Suggestions for Chapters

Chapters should prioritize a balance of old and new members who are actively involved in the life of the chapter. Members should be familiar with organizational history. Opportunity should be always made to solidify new member connection to the Organization.

Chapters should prioritize members' ability and willingness to communicate to the group. Members should be accountable to the group.

Chapters should prioritize members who consistently follow-through on tasks, meeting attendance, etc.

Chapters should prioritize members who are most harmed by the Prison Industrial Complex, (former prisoners, family members of prisoners, immigrant detainees, people of color, transgenders, etc).

The National Jericho Staff Will Consist Of Five Members:

1. Chairperson: To regulate and coordinate Steering Committee (SC) functions; to oversee general SC operations; chair SC meetings (including establishing time and setting agenda); ensure that JERICHO stays in tune with its mission, and goals and objectives; and serve as National Spokesperson.
2. Co-Chairperson: Responsible for overseeing SC members and Chapter Heads to ensure that their responsibilities are being carried out and that organizational procedure is adhered to when required.
3. Secretary: Keep accurate minutes of SC meetings; preserve minutes and organizational documents; and send out SC communications (cleared by Chairperson) to Chps.

4. Treasurer: Dispense of National funds needed once agreed upon by SC; be prepared to give oral up-to-date financial reports during SC meetings generate monthly financial report to SC and Chapters; maintain accurate financial records; and collect and record dues from Chapters.
5. National Youth Coordinator: Develop and propagate a national strategy for involving youth (teens and young adults) into the JERICHO Movement and organization; and develop strategy to include responsible and politically aware and socially conscious youth into JERICHO leadership/SC/Chapter head positions of responsibility. (This position should be held by a young adult).

Member's Dues

Each chapter will be responsible for paying monthly dues. Monthly dues will be paid in check or money order to the National Jericho Treasurer on or before the 15th of each month. Each chapter will pay \$5 for each employed member. Work in kind will be accepted from members in lieu of the \$5 monthly dues, *i.e.*: if an unemployed member does a specific job or fulfills a specific responsibility for the chapter, then that effort may substitute for the \$5 monthly dues obligation owed by that member. The chapter will determine work in kind as well as the manner and method in which dues are collected.

Nomination and Election Process And Procedures

- Terms for holding a staff position on steering committee: a steering committee member will hold a staff position or sit on the steering committee for two years with a term starting January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2013.
- Ratification: each steering committee member will be ratified annually on or shortly after January 1st. such ratification will serve to ensure each member has organizational satisfaction, as well as to serve as an evaluation of work. if a member is not ratified, then that

person stands to be removed from the steering committee after investigation of the reasons why and whether the dissatisfaction can be addressed and resolved.

- There will be no limit on the number of time a person can be nominated and elected for steering committee, but they must go through the process each time.
- Nominations will be accepted by the present/standing steering committee from november 1st to november 15th.
- Standing steering committee will review nominations and present them to jericho membership for voting.

- December 1st : election day
- December 7th : election results

Qualifications for Staff Nominees:

- Each nominee must sign an Agreement Statement indicating that they understand and support the mission, goals and objectives of Jericho. They will work in accordance with its procedures, and they will honestly, sincerely and earnestly work in the interest of our political prisoners and prisoners of war.
- Each nominee must submit a 250-500 word essay explaining their vision and ideas for Jericho, some of their accomplishments or experiences in the struggle, and how they see themselves functioning in the position for which they were nominated.
- Each nominee must submit their:
 1. Full name, aliases, and what they preferred to be called
 2. Date of Birth
 3. Place of Birth
 4. Present address, phone number, and e-mail
 5. Emergency contacts

6. Each nominee must have at least 3 endorsements from Jericho members or known personalities in the struggle

AGREEMENT STATEMENT

I, _____,
agree with the Mission, Goals, and Objectives
of the Jericho Movement and organization as
stated in the Jericho Manual.

I, _____,
pledge to work honestly, sincerely, and
earnestly in the best interest of Jericho and in
accord with its guidelines and principles.

x _____

Signature

**Some Practical Suggestions for the
Jericho Movement Organizer**

Each location should primarily focus on the political prisoners and prisoners of war in their regions, states and localities. The benefits are several. For one thing, it will mean that support work for all political prisoners and prisoners of war can be practically achieved; ensuring that attention to no political prisoner or prisoner of war will go uncovered.

Not only will this serve immeasurably in strengthening the national coordination of support efforts, but it will permit a more intensive and focused campaign on the local level with respect to all of the political prisoners and prisoners of war in the particular regions, states and localities. It will also immeasurably boost the morale of the political prisoners and prisoners of war and provide more regular interaction and coordination with them.

**Among the programs that could be
instituted in each region, are:**

- Regular visiting programs
- Presentations on democracy and dissent in universities, high schools, middle schools, cable television shows, and radio, featuring particularly the political prisoners and prisoners of war within those regions, states and localities
- Letter writing campaigns to political prisoners and prisoners of war within the particular regions, states and localities
- Letter writing campaigns to the particular prison authorities within the regions, states and localities in which the political prisoners and prisoners of war are being held
- Letter writing campaigns to the particular state and local legislators, legislatures and government executives regarding the situation with political prisoners and prisoners of war in the particular regions, states and localities
- The drafting and sponsoring of resolutions calling for amnesty and release by legislators, legislatures and executive government officials in support of the political prisoners or prisoners of war within the particular regions, states and localities
- Regional, state and local newsletters detailing organizational efforts
- Marches, rallies and public demonstrations regarding political prisoners and prisoners of war within the particular regions, states and localities
- Teach-ins regarding political dissent and struggle and the example of political prisoners and prisoners of war in the region, state and locality as well as those incarcerated from other regions, states and localities
- Speaker's bureaus for churches, community groups, university organizations and other forums on the subject of political prisoners and prisoners of war for the particular region, states and localities
- Joint actions with other groups, such as university student organizations, in which the subject of political prisoners and prisoners can be discussed

List of Political Prisoners/POWs

Please be sure to check with the (federal) Bureau of Prisons at the website below for the most current address of federal prisoners (*)
<http://www.bop.gov/iloc2/Locatelnmate.jsp>

For state prisoners please check with their state' department of Corrections (DOC)

Abdullah, Haki Malik (s/n Michael Green
#C-56123, PO Box 3456, Corcoran, CA 93212

Abu-Jamal, Mumia #AM 8335, SCI-Greene,
175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370
Birthday: April 24, 1954

*Acoli, Sundiata #39794-066, FCI Otisville,
P.O. Box 1000, Otisville, NY 10963
Birthday: January 14, 1937

Africa, Charles Simms #AM4975, SCI Retreat,
660 State Route 11, Hunlock Creek, PA 18621
Birthday: April 7, 1956

Africa, Debbie Sims #006307, 451 Fullerton
Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238
Birthday: August 4, 1956

Africa, Delbert Orr #AM4985, SCI Dallas
Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612,
Birthday: April 7

Africa, Edward Goodman #AM4974,
301 Morea Road, Frackville, PA 17932
Birthday: October 21, 1949

Africa, Janet Holloway #006308,
451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs,
PA 16403-1238
Birthday: April 13, 1951

Africa, Janine Phillips #006309, 451 Fullerton
Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238
Birthday: April 25, 1956

Africa, Michael Davis #AM4973, SCI Grater-
ford, Box 244, Graterford, PA 19426-0244
Birthday: October 6, 1955

Africa, William Phillips #AM4984, SCI Dallas
Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612, Birthday:
January 1, 1956

*Al-Amin, Jamil Abdullah # 99974-555,
USP Florence ADMAX, P.O. Box 8500,
Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: October 4, 1943

Azania, Zolo #4969, Indiana State Prison,
1 Park Row, Michigan City, IN 46360
Birthday: December 12, 1954

Barnes, Grant #137563, San Carlos Correc-
tional Facility, PO Box 3, Pueblo, CO 81002

Bell, Herman #79C0262, Sullivan Correctional
Facility, P.O. Box 116, Fallsburg,
NY 12733-0116
Birthday: January 14, 1948

*Block, Nathan #36359-086, FCI Lompoc,
3600 Guard Road, Lompoc, CA 93436

*Bomani Sababu, Kojo (Grailing Brown)
#39384-066, USP Hazelton, P.O. Box 2000,
Bruceton Mills, WV 26525

Bottom, Anthony Jalil (Jalil Muntaqim)
#77A4283, Auburn CF, P.O. Box 618, Auburn,
NY 13021
Birthday: October 18, 1951

Bowen, Joseph AM-4272, 1 Kelley Drive,
Coal Township, PA 17866-1021

*Bowers, Veronza #35316-136, USP Atlanta,
P.O. Box 150160, Atlanta, GA 30315
Birthday: February 4

Burton, Fred "Muhammad" #AF-3896, SCI
Somerset, 1590 Walters Mill Rd, Somerset,
PA 15510
Birthday: December 15, 1946

*Campa, Rubén #58733-004 (envelope ad-
dressed to Rubén Campa, letter addressed to
Fernando Gonzáles), FCI Terre Haute, P.O.
Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808, Birthday:
August 18, 1963

*Chubbuck, Byron Shane (Oso Blanco)
#07909-051
USP Lewisburg, PO Box 1000,
Lewisburg, PA 17837, Birthday:
February 26, 1967

Conway, Marshall Eddie #116469, Jessup Cor-
rectional Institution, P.O. Box 534, Jessup,
MD 20794
Birthday: April 23, 1946

*Dunne, Bill #10916-086, USP Pollock,
P.O. Box 2099, Pollock, LA 71467,
Birthday: August 3

Fitzgerald, Romaine "Chip" #B-27527
Corcoran SP, P.O. Box 3456, ASU-1-139, Cor-
coran, CA 93212, Birthday: April 11, 1949

*Ford, Patrice Lumumba #96639-011,
USP Florence, P.O. Box 7000, Florence,
CO 81226

Gilday, William # W33537, MCI Shirley, PO
Box 1218, Shirley, MA 01464-1218

Gilbert, David #83A6158, Clinton Correctional
Facility, P.O. Box 2001, Dannemora, NY 12929
Birthday: October 6, 1944

*González Claudio, Avelino #09873-000, MDC
Brooklyn, P.O. Box 329002, Brooklyn,
NY 11232

*González, René #58738-004, FCI Marianna,
P.O. Box 7007, Marianna, FL 32447
Birthday: August 13, 1956

*Guerrero, Antonio #58741-004, FCI Florence,
P.O. Box 6000, Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: October 18, 1958

Hayes, Robert Seth #74-A-2280, Wende CF,
Wende Rd., PO Box 1187,
Alden, NY 14004-1187
Birthday: October 15, 1948

Hernández, Alvaro Luna #255735, Hughes
Unit, Rt. 2, Box 4400, Gatesville, TX 76597
Birthday: May 12, 1952

*Hernández, Gerardo #58739-004, USP Vic-
torville, P.O. Box 5300, Adelanto, CA 92301
Birthday: June 4, 1965

Hilton, Freddie (Kamau Sadiki) #0001150688,
Augusta State Medical Prison, Bldg 13B-2 E7
3001 Gordon Highway, Grovetown, GA 30813,
Birthday: February 19

*Hoover, Larry #86063-024, Florence ADMAX,
P.O. Box 8500, Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: November 30, 1950

*Ka'bah, Abdullah Malik (aka Jeff Fort)
#92298-024 USP Florence ADMAX,
P.O. Box 8500, Florence, CO 81226,
Birthday: February 20, 1947

Kambui, Sekou (William Turk) #113058, Box
56, SCC (C1-32A), Elmore, AL 36025-0056
Birthday: September 6, 1948

*Khabir, Maumin (aka Melvin Mayes)
#09891-000 USP Terre Haute,
P.O. Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808

*Kjonaas, Kevin # 93502-011, Unit I,
FCI Sandstone, P.O. Box 1000, Sandstone,
MN 55072

Koti, Mohamman Geuka #80A-0808, 354
Hunter Street, Ossining, NY 10562-5442
Birthday: October 11, 1926

*Laaman, Jaan Karl #10372-016, USP Tucson,
P.O. Box 24550, Tucson, AZ 85734
Birthday: March 21, 1948

Lake, Richard Mafundi #079972, Donaldson
CF, 100 Warrior Lane, Bessemer,
AL 35023-7299

Langa, Mondo We (David Rice) #27768, Ne-
braska State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2500,
Lincoln, NE 68542, Birthday: May 21, 1947

Latine, Maliki Shakur # 81-A-4469, Clinton CF,
P.O. Box 2001, Dannemora, NY 12929

*López Rivera, Oscar #87651-024, FCI
Terre Haute, P.O. Box 33, Terre Haute,
IN 47808
Birthday: January 6, 1943

Magee, Ruchell Cinque # A92051, C-2 107L
CSATF/State Prison at Corcoran
P.O Box 5242, Corcoran, CA 93212

Majid, Abdul (Anthony Laborde) #83-A-0483,
Elmira Correctional Facility, PO Box 500,
1879 Davis St, Elmira, New York 14902-0500,
Birthday: June 25, 1949

*Manning, Thomas #10373-016
USP Coleman Low- P.O. Box 1031,
Coleman, FL 33521
Birthday: June 28, 1946

*McDavid, Eric 16209-097, FCI Victorville
Medium II, PO Box 5300, Adelanto, CA 92301
Birthday: October 7

*McGowan, Daniel #63794-053, USP Marion,
P.O. Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959
Birthday: May 2, 1974

*Medina, Luís #58734-004 (envelope is ad-
dressed to Luis Medina, letter to Ramón
Labañino)USP McCreary, P.O. Box 3000, Pine
Knot, KY 42635, Birthday: June 9, 1963

Odinga, Sekou #09A3775, Shawangunk Cor-
rectional Facility, P.O. Box 700,
Wallkill, NY 12589

Birthday: June 17, 1944

*Paul, Jonathan #07167-085, FCI Phoenix,
37910 N 45th Ave., Phoenix, AZ 85086
Birthday: January 31, 1966

*Peltier, Leonard #89637-132, USP Lewisburg,
PO Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837
Birthday: September 12, 1944

Pinell, Hugo "Dahariki" #A88401, SHU D3-221,
P.O. Box 7500, Crescent City, CA 95531-7500
Birthday: March 10, 1945

Poindexter, Ed # 27767, Nebraska State Peni-
tentiary, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68542
Birthday: November 1, 1944

Powell, Reverend Joy #07G0632,
Bedford Hills CF, P.O. Box 1000,
Bedford Hills, NY 10507-2499

Rodríguez, Luis V. #C33000, Mule Creek State
Prison, P.O. Box 409000, Ione, CA 95640

Shabazz Bey, Hanif (Beaumont Gereau)
Golden Groove Prison, RR1, P.O. Box 9955,
Kingshill, St. Croix, V.I. 00850
Birthday: August 16, 1950

*Shakur, Mutulu #83205-012
USP Florence Max, DB Unit, Cell 214, P.O.
Box 7000, Florence, CO 81226
Birthday: August 8, 1950

Shoats, Russell Maroon #AF-3855,
SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive,
Waynesburg, PA 15370
Birthday: August 23, 1943

*Stewart, Lynne #53504-054, MCC/NY, 150
Park Row, New York, NY 10007

Torres, Francisco 2307534: Out on bail, but
can be reached at: Committee for the Defense
of Human Rights, P.O. Box 90221, Pasadena,
CA 91109, (415) 226-1120

Tyler, Gary # 84156, Louisiana State Peniten-
tiary, ASH-4, Angola LA 70712

Wallace, Herman #76759,
Elayn Hunt Correctional Center, CCR-B-#6
P.O. Box 174, St Gabriel LA 70776,
Birthday: October 13, 1941

*Waters, Brianna- Out on bail-

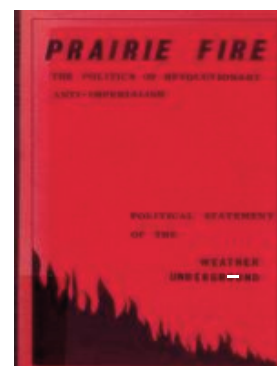
Watson, Gary #098990
Unit SHU17, Delaware Correctional Center,
1181 Paddock Road, Smyrna, DE 19977

Woodfox, Albert #72148, Camp D, Eagle 1,
Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola LA 70712
Birthday: February 19, 1947

*Zacher, Joyanna #36360-086
FCI Dublin, 5701 8th St, Camp Parks, Unit F,
Dublin, CA 94



WHO WE ARE



APPENDIX I

The following historical overview was written by Ahati N.N. Toure and was included in the first Jericho Manual. This reflects the movement, times, and thoughts/analyses of the movements from which Jericho was created-- the Republic of New Africa and New African Liberation Front.. We acknowledge that it lacks citations, leaves out other conditions and peoples' struggles, etc. With all that said, this analysis is a work in progress.



There has been respected criticism and suggestions for a rewrite. Considering this a work-in-progress, the outcome will be a well researched, scholarly, and reputable analysis of our struggle that reflects not only the outlook of Jericho, but also the world and conditions from which it was born.

Historical Overview in the matter of Political Pioneers, Prisoners of War

The Case of the Afrikan Independence and Integrationist Struggles

The Afrikan's first encounter with the Americas under European invasion, and particularly the territory that later became known as the United States, was as a prisoner of war. In 1526 — 93 years before 1619, the date usually cited for the first recorded Afrikan enslavement by the English in Jamestown, Virginia — the first 100 Afrikans were held captive in what is now called South Carolina by about 500 Spanish enslavers. The Afrikans launched an armed struggle against the Spanish and escaped to the territories controlled by the neighboring

indigenous nations that surrounded the settlement. For Afrikans held captive in the United States, this begins the era of enslaver domination.

Afrikans, the United States' first prisoners of war, were warred upon by nearly every nation of Europe. Danes, Swedes, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, some of whom eventually became Americans, coordinated an international criminal smuggling and enslavement operation, backed by European banking, insurance and other financial interests, that victimized hundreds of millions of human beings. It was, indeed, an international war by Europe upon Afrikan peoples all across the Afrikan continent. In the process of that war, the Europeans, during five centuries, slaughtered some 50 million to 100 million men, women and children in the hinterlands and coastal areas of Afrika and in the journey across the Atlantic Ocean en route to the enslavement centers in the newly-invaded Americas. Millions more were terrorized, tortured and killed in the so-called New World. This action by Europeans against Afrikan people stands as the greatest act of genocide in the history of humankind.

Those who did survive, captives, prisoners of war, were forced to labor in European economic enterprises. Not only were they thrust into a rigid caste hierarchy in which Europeans set themselves up as the permanent superiors, but they were subjected to a wide array of human rights violations and crimes against humanity routinely carried out and sanctioned by European law. Despite, or perhaps because of, the tremendous loss to Afrikan humanity, the economic benefits to the European criminal enterprise were staggering. Some Afrikan researchers calculate reparations owed by the U.S. regime to Afrikan people in the united states alone calculated solely on the basis of the value of economic exploitation to the U.S. economy would range from \$5 trillion to \$17 trillion!

Afrikan in the United States, recognizing they were prisoners of war in an alien and imperial system run by an alien and imperial people, took up armed struggle to liberate themselves and reclaim their independence. The standard response during the era of European enslaver domination was execution for Afrikan who joined the liberation struggle. But to recapture them the European regime was often forced to employ a military response. In the Haitian Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Afrikan revolutionaries crushed the might of the French dictator Napoleon Bonaparte's crack troops. But those captured by the French enslavers were subjected to torture, imprisonment and execution. In Brazil, Afrikan established the Republic of Palmares and fought off the Dutch and Portuguese through 100 years and 31 wars.

The same was true in the United States. Afrikan organized resistance all across the enslaver strongholds of the regime's northern and southern territories. Some managed to set up independent states in portions of the United States where American imperialism had not yet wholly imposed itself. Scholars estimate Afrikan revolutionaries established at least 50 independent maroon communities in the forest, mountain and swampy regions of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida, seeking in various ways to duplicate the Afrikan societies from which they came. The largest and most notable of these existed in the "Dismal Swamp" along the Virginia-North Carolina border and in Florida in confederation with the Seminole nation.

In some cases Afrikan held captive in the United States carved out through armed resistance — at least temporarily — a space for independent self-rule. Some scholars point out in one instance in 18th century South Carolina there arose an organized and highly disciplined Afrikan uprising that fought off the might of the American military for three years before the revolutionaries were eventually defeated, captured and executed. Prepared to fight to the death to reassert their national sovereignty, the

Afrikan revolutionaries sent their women and children to Florida, at that time under the nominal occupation and control of the Spanish, and to areas inhabited by the indigenous peoples of the continent and maroon societies built by Afrikan who had successfully escaped from the American-occupied areas to the north.

The Afrikan of the Florida territory, in confederation with the Seminole nation, had established an independent state during the early 19th century, to which many Afrikan had escaped from the American-controlled areas in the enslaver-dominated South of the United States, some of them using the Florida corridor as a means to flee to the Caribbean islands and escape the white supremacist dictatorship altogether. The American enslaver regime, sensing a threat to the criminal economic system it had created, launched a military assault against them. It was a war, costing the regime millions of dollars that dragged on for 42 years. The Americans utilized the combined forces of their Army, Navy and the Marines before the Afrikan and the Seminoles were finally defeated. Those who survived the war were deported to the Oklahoma territories, and many Afrikan from there escaped into Mexico.

While the Afrikan masses in the South were struggling to create independent zones within the United States, and using armed resistance to do this, the European-educated Afrikan elite, mostly intellectuals and human rights activists in the North, were waging a political campaign to end the enslavement of Afrikan people. Some, like Martin Delany, Paul Kofi, and John Russwurm, advocated repatriation to Afrika (particularly to Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria) and the establishment of independent states and settlements in the Afrikan homeland. Others, like Frederick Douglass, David Walker, and Henry Highland Garnet (who later became disillusioned with the prospect of Afrikan equality in America and opted for independence in Afrika) fought for the abolition of inferior caste status and for integration into American society as social, cultural and political equals with the European population. The abolition of enslavement status became a

crucial precondition for its realization.

Just as in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, many of the 19th century Afrikan intellectuals became victims of political repression. David Walker, the fiery author of the renowned Appeal to Colored Citizens of the World, a tract that, among other things, advocated the violent overthrow of the enslaver regime, was believed assassinated in Boston under mysterious circumstances in 1830. Douglass, who had escaped from enslavement and who had since become a captivating orator, writer and newspaper publisher, was forced to flee into exile in England for a time to escape recapture and re-enslavement by the regime. Samuel Ringgold Ward, an Afrikan Congregational minister and human rights activist, eventually fled the United States for Canada and later England, saying the American regime was irredeemably corrupted and unalterably committed to the enslavement and subordination of the Afrikans it held as captives.

The human rights activists in the North not only advocated through writings and speeches the abolishment of enslavement, but they also organized open and covert resistance to the regime. This included breaking Afrikans captured under the regime's "Fugitive Slave Act" of 1850 out of jail and smuggling them to British-held Canada (more than 100 years later the New Afrikan freedom fighter Assata Shakur was liberated from a women's prison in Clinton, New Jersey, and smuggled to political asylum in Cuba). This clandestine smuggling operation, carried out in collaboration with European progressives, also brought Afrikans seeking escape from enslavement to the northern areas and to Canada. In northern New York State, Afrikans allied with the European revolutionary John Brown, whose activities there were financed by a European businessman, were participating in the operation of a clandestine training center for armed struggle against the enslaver regime under cover of an agricultural commune.

Thus, the history of Afrikan struggle against American oppression and exploitation — by

any means necessary — is centuries old, and the response of the American regime has been covert, political, legal and military in its attempt to stifle it. This was certainly borne out in the era immediately preceding the activism of most of today's Afrikan political prisoners and prisoners of war, whose persecution by the regime stems directly from their political activities in the late 1960s, throughout the 1970s, and into the early 1980s. Most were profoundly shaped by the lives and the assassinations of two great figures in Afrikan struggle. Omowale Malcolm X (El Hajj Malik El Shabazz), the father of Afrikan revolutionary nationalism, whose work in generating substantial international support for the Afrikan human rights struggle within the United States proved brilliantly effective, was assassinated in 1965. The assassination was one of a coordinated series of worldwide U.S. Central Intelligence Agency-sponsored assassinations and coups d'état intended to destroy the anti-colonial movements of Asia and Afrika, as well as those within the colonial powers of Europe and the United States.

Evidence points to Malcolm's assassination being carried out through American intelligence in coordination with the New York City Police Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Nation of Islam, which had been thoroughly infiltrated by police and FBI agents and informants. Three years later, the apostle of nonviolence, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who in his posthumous essay, A Testament of Hope, had rejected Malcolm's internationalist strategy as unnecessary and, by subtle implication, unpatriotic, was assassinated. King had attempted through his nonviolent philosophy to radically democratize and humanize American society in an all-out assault against what he called its three fundamental evils — capitalist exploitation, military imperialism and white supremacist oppression. Evidence points to King's assassination being authorized by the Johnson White House and carried out by American military intelligence in a complex collaboration that involved Army Special Forces, informants within King's own organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the FBI, the Memphis Police

Department and organized crime.

Even in its response to the spontaneous people's uprisings that erupted throughout the mid to late 1960s, the regime utilized its military forces to occupy the Afrikan areas and to quell revolt. Thousands of troops, equipped with M-16s and patrolling in jeeps and tanks, flooded city streets all across the country and imposed martial law in response to successive waves of people's revolts against the white supremacist dictatorship.

The Case of the U.S. Regime's Colonization of Indigenous Nations

The indigenous nations of the North American continent were also the subjects of military aggression and occupation. The U.S. regime, at first militarily weak, had to rely on treaties and subterfuge in its agenda of total occupation of the so-called North American continent. It eventually gained economic and military strength for an outright assault against the last strongholds of American Indian independence in the closing decades of the 19th century. The control of land was the key, for the regime — in a frenzied race against other imperial European competitors, like the English to the North, and the Spanish and French to the South and West — aimed at the exploitation of the land for European settlement and population expansion, agricultural wealth, and exploitation of mineral resources. Rationalized by white supremacist and imperialist ambitions, the regime's policy, popularly known as "manifest destiny," was an antecedent to Adolf Hitler's notion of lebensraum ("living space"), the need for the Nazi regime to expand beyond Germany's borders into Eastern Europe and to supplant the Slavic population (whom the Germans considered to be an inferior race) with a German one. A century earlier, the Americans were animated by a similar genocidal lust for power and control of the so-called North American continent. In the words of one American ideologue: "The rich and beautiful valleys of Wyoming are destined for the occupancy and sustenance of the Anglo-Saxon race. The wealth that for untold ages has lain hidden beneath the snow-capped summits of our moun-

tains has been placed there by Providence to reward the brave spirits whose lot it is to compose the advance guard of civilization. The Indians must stand aside or be overwhelmed by the ever advancing and ever increasing tide of [European] emigration. The destiny of the aborigines is written in characters not to be mistaken. The same inscrutable Arbiter that decreed the downfall of Rome has pronounced the doom of extinction upon the red men of America."

Indeed, the push to control a sizable portion of the continent seemed destined to succeed. The leadership of the Democratic Party, having seized an electoral victory in 1844, would peacefully settle with the British in Canada on the border for Oregon in the Northwest and prevail in war with Mexico, robbing it of Texas, vast tracts of the lands of New Mexico, and California, thus expanding the regime's control of the continent to the south and to the west, and gaining control of the coasts on both the Atlantic and the Pacific. Flushed with this victory, the imperialists' ambitions could not be contained, and they set their sights on new horizons: the colonization of Alaska, Hawaii, Cuba and American domination in Central America. As the regime's fifteenth president, James Buchanan, argued in 1858 it was "beyond question the destiny of our race to spread themselves over the continent of North America," adding "the tide of emigrants will flow to the south, and nothing can eventually arrest its progress. ... Central America will soon contain an American population."

Interestingly, American imperialist expansion into Cuba was a long-standing interest of the white supremacist dictatorship dating back to the regime's third political ruler and first secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, who reputedly dreamed of Cuba as an American state. American imperialists, including former secretary of state and soon-to-be regime president, James Buchanan, argued the colonization of Cuba was an imperative of the regime's national security interests. "Indeed, the Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security, as long as Cuba is not embraced within its bound-

aries,” they declared in 1854. The imperialists feared Cuba, like Haiti, would become another independent Afrikan-ruled republic that would strengthen the Afrikan revolutionary struggle that was raging, or that simmered just below the surface, in various parts of the United States. “We should ... be recreant to our duty, be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized and become a second St. Domingo [Haiti], with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our neighboring shores, seriously to endanger or actually consume the fair fabric of our Union.”

Hence, the war against the indigenous nations of what became known as the North American continent was the first stage in the regime’s imperial expansion in the so-called Americas. To effect the removal of these nations, genocide was a fundamental element in the regime’s strategy; the American regime employed chemical and biological warfare against them. Its most notorious effort was the use of small pox-infected blankets for distribution among indigenous populations. The Americans were well aware that the Indian populations had no immunity to European diseases. Such efforts depopulated whole sections of the continent. The regime also sponsored drug trafficking in the form of alcohol to foster drug addiction among the indigenous populations to undermine the moral, physical and spiritual health of the various nations (more than a century later the CIA would be discovered to have fostered the crack cocaine epidemic within Afrikan communities across the United States). This assault also contributed to the rapid depopulation of many areas. In the area known by the European conquerors as New York State, many Indian spiritually-based resistance movements among the legendary Six Nations Confederacy focused on the evils of alcohol as an essential part of the internal social struggle against European oppression. The regime also exploited in the age-old methodology of divide and rule conflicts among various Indian nations, routinely violated treaty agreements, and engaged systematically through its military in assassina-

tions, rape, torture, mutilation, massacres, including of elders, women and children all of which eventually led to its military triumph and control.

Partitioning the conquered lands for its own purposes, the regime forced the surviving populations on to reservations, which were, more or less, military-controlled concentration camps in the least agriculturally productive areas it could find; the imperial regime had initially placed its administration of the conquered peoples under the Department of War. The absence of good agricultural land or plentiful wild game forced Indians into a crushing dependency upon the Europeans conquerors for food and livelihood. The regime supplied bad, often rancid food. As in the case of the Afrikan captives, the Europeans also practiced cultural genocide against the Indians, taking their children away from their parents and nations to remote boarding schools, where they attempted to make them into semi-Europeans, alienated from their national cultures and traditions, given European names, forbidden to speak their languages or to practice their religions.

The regime, in the 20th century, also attempted to impose American citizenship status on the indigenous peoples, a stratagem it had used and that proved, on the whole, more successful in undermining the Afrikan independence struggle several decades earlier. Its intent (in the Afrikan case as well) was to destroy the struggle for sovereignty of the various indigenous nations by having their members become American nationals. Thus, it would be able to dismiss all claims to reclamation of land under internationally-recognized treaty rights as voided by the dissolution of the nations with which the regime had formerly treated; American citizenship would have effected a “legal depopulation” of those nations into “legal extinction.”

For the most part, the Indian nations, like the Afrikans of the independence struggles of the 18th and 19th centuries, fought against inclusion in European society and for the preservation of their independence in their own

homeland. Their struggle was military and the subject of international law, for the United States imperial regime had treated with them as equals under terms of European international law during a time when its military might was less than equal to the Indian nations with which they were compelled, by military necessity, to treat. The political prisoners of the pan Indian nationalist movement — its most well-known formation being that of the American Indian Movement (AIM) — continue the struggle for the reclamation of land guaranteed under treaties with the U.S. regime and the restoration of national sovereignty for all the indigenous nations in the American-occupied territory.

Writes Winona LaDuke in a preface to Ward Churchill's *Struggle for Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide and Expropriation in Contemporary North America*: "Very little land in North America should rightly fall outside native jurisdiction, administered under indigenous rather than immigrant values." LaDuke further declares the "native struggle in North America today can only be properly understood as a pursuit of the recovery of land rights which are guaranteed through treaties," adding that the movement does not contemplate "governmental attempts to 'compensate' us with money for lands we never agreed to relinquish." LaDuke concludes: "Native America is struggling to break free of the colonialist, industrialist, militarist nation-state domination in which it is now engulfed."

The Case of the Puerto Rican Struggle for Independence

The people of Puerto Rico, like the indigenous nations in the so-called North American territory, and like the Afrikans stolen from their homeland and held captive in the United States, are also the victims of American imperialism. The colonization of Puerto Rico was only a part of the American overthrow of Spanish imperial rule in the Caribbean and Asia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. Thinking the Americans had come as liberators to free them from the yoke of Spanish colonialism

against which they were struggling, the people of these far-flung islands soon came to understand the imperialists were simply trading places. In the end, the liberation forces came to the bitter realization that their hopes for liberation had been betrayed, that the so-called Spanish-American War of 1898 was motivated by the clash of the American white supremacist dictatorship's expanding, and more global, economic interests against the decaying fortunes of a weakening colonial European power. The Reverend Josiah Strong, a leading Congregational minister in the United States, had in 1885 urged that the American mission was to fulfill the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, which was to dominate the globe through the conquest of "weaker races," and to culturally colonize them through Christianization and impose upon them Anglo-Saxon institutions, to, in effect, "Anglo-Saxonize" humankind.

The regime, in cynical statements of horror of Spanish imperialism in the lands it coveted, inveighed against Spanish domination and in support of the independence struggles of the various peoples of the islands. In a resolution in support of Cuban independence in 1898, the year of the war, the regime declared the conditions of Spanish control "have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization," adding "the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." Despite the pretense, the regime's agenda was clear. Declared U.S. Senator Albert J. Beveridge in a speech that same year: "Hawaii is ours; Porto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of her people Cuba finally will be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Fremont carried to the [west] coast." Furthermore, Beveridge expounded: "The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, and we govern

our children without their consent. ...

“If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America. If they can supervise protectorates, so can America ... “The ocean does not separate us from lands of our duty and desire — the oceans join us, rivers never to be dredged, canals never to be repaired. Steam joins us; electricity joins us — the very elements are in league with our destiny. Cuba not contiguous! Porto Rico not contiguous! Hawaii and the Philippines not contiguous! The oceans make them contiguous. And our navy will make them contiguous.”

In Puerto Rico and Cuba, as in Guam and the Philippines, this meant that the U.S. regime invaded and occupied with military forces. In every place the regime's forces invaded, it crushed the liberation forces and imposed itself and its hand-picked stooges to administer the new colonial dispensation. The resistance in the Philippines, for example, was particularly hard-fought and bloody. Hundreds of thousands of Filipinos were slaughtered by American forces. It took three years and 70,000 American troops to crush the Filipino resistance. Interestingly, the imperialists reported that “an unusually large number” of Afrikan captives sent from the united states to fight in the regime's campaign to subdue the Philippines, enthusiastically joined the Filipino liberation struggle, wreaking havoc on American imperialist forces. As in the case of the other countries formerly colonized by the Spanish the American regime re-colonized Puerto Rico as well. It has installed an immovable military presence that has caused environmental damage and jeopardized the health of its citizens, and it has economically, politically and administratively absorbed the island- nation as a “commonwealth” possession, making Puerto Rico a colony that “belongs to but that is not a part of the united states. In 1998, the American occupation of Puerto Rico — and the Puerto Rican struggle for independence from American imperial rule — reached 100 years. Despite the ruthlessness with which the regime has crushed resistance, the Puerto Rican Indepen-

dentistas fight on in pursuit of national sovereignty and independence of their homeland.

The Case of the European Dissidence

The persecution of people for their political views is as old as European culture itself. The Catholic inquisitions of Europe are perhaps the most well-known case in point. Disagreements in political or religious views would subject those in the minority of the power equation to torture, imprisonment and execution for what were considered “abominable heresies.” European culture showed a basic intolerance for differences that was nothing short of rabid, and thousands of Europeans lost their lives in bloodshed designed to purge the population of deviant thinking. This hostility to “unorthodox” opinions and the methods used to repress them — various forms of torture to encourage renunciation of beliefs and to terrorize other would-be free thinkers — were carried over into the culture that formed the United States. Afrikans who joined the liberation struggle — particularly in the 18th century — were, upon recapture, subject to those methods of repression that were the practice in Europe for generations. In New York State alone, Afrikan revolutionaries were branded on their foreheads with hot irons, burned alive, pulled apart by chains, beaten and whipped nearly to death, dragged about by horses on New York City streets (as in the case of the Afrikan man walking home from a party in Jasper County, Texas, who was kidnapped by three white supremacist ex-convicts in June 1998 and dragged by their vehicle down a road until his body was torn apart), and otherwise physically mutilated, for resistance to enslavement. All of this was done by the enslaver regime under the cover of enslaver.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the hysteria in the united states surrounding socialist, anarchist, and later Marxist-Leninist thought and political activity reached the kind of fevered pitch reminiscent of Europe's medieval period. Thousands of European anarchists and socialists advocating for improved working conditions were brutally beaten, sometimes killed, thrust in prisons or deported to Europe under

massive police mobilizations designed to root out anti-capitalist “subversion” in the country. The regime, under the control of robber barons and corrupt politicians, was a bastion of capitalist values that openly advocated the cynical use and exploitation of the European working class, including their children.

Consequently, those Europeans of the anti-capitalist stripe who protested their class oppression and who articulated their desire for a differing political, economic and social arrangement were anathema to the regime. Although, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, Afrikans and indigenous nations (and later Puerto Ricans) in their liberation struggles were the victims primarily of U.S. military assaults, the regime’s repression would increasingly assume a more pronounced police character in the 20th century. While law enforcement oppression was always a factor for Afrikans held captive by the white supremacist dictatorship, the European dissident resistance to capitalist exploitation set in motion a new emphasis in regime tactics. Political dissidence came increasingly under the jurisdiction of law enforcement; the blatant repression of political dissent was, progressively, cloaked under the innocuous disguise of a righteous police war on “crime.” The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which for decades has masqueraded as a crime-fighting organization, has its roots in this history, in those days of political repression against European labor and human rights activists seeking social change in the class arrangements of the American regime’s capitalist order.

Perhaps the most dramatic, but least politically significant illustration of this fanatical repression, of this obsession with ideological orthodoxy, was the Hollywood crisis brought on during the so-called McCarthy era of the late 1940s and early 1950s, named for the inquisitorial tactics of the fascist U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. Similar work was carried out by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

To be branded a Communist (Marxist-Leninist)

by the regime was tantamount for Europeans who were accustomed to enjoying the middle class privileges of the white supremacist dictatorship to social, political, economic and cultural death. An actor, writer, film director or other participant in the Hollywood film industry branded as a Communist was ostracized and economically neutralized, so stigmatized that s/he lost friends and was rendered unemployable. Once branded as an adherent of the “anti-capitalist heresy,” one’s life in the United States was over.

Indeed, to be called a Communist was tantamount to being called a worshiper of Satan within the American Christian cultural imagination, and anyone so accused assiduously denied the accusation, often with vigorous protestations of loyalty to the American regime. Indeed, as did the white supremacist dictatorship of South Afrika, the regime’s use of the Communist tag became a catch-all means by which to intimidate and to discredit the most timid efforts at the reformation of prevailing capitalist arrangements.

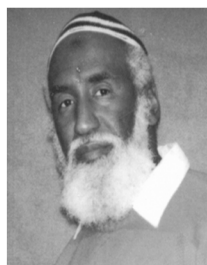
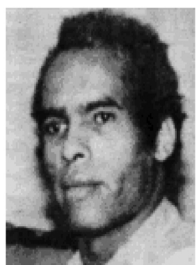
Even the slightest deviation from the norm was viewed as major evidence of subversive intentions, sufficient to justify political surveillance and law enforcement prosecution. As a result, the regime mobilized its propaganda forces in the media, as well as its political and police apparatus, to crush and destroy any inkling of dissident thought and activity among Europeans, especially regarding the issue of class arrangements and the predominance of the capitalist order.

Indeed, as we have noted, the socialist and anarchist activities of Europeans, particularly at the close of the 19th and during the first three decades of the 20th centuries, were effectively neutralized through this combination of the regime’s massive police repression, backed by draconian legislative authorization, and its propaganda through the media. The witch hunts of the late 1940s into the 1950s constituted the death knell to the era of socialist political activity. In the case of the motion picture industry, they effectively made Hollywood a

bastion of fascism and white supremacy.

There would be a brief eruption of European radical activism in the 1960s and 1970s, catalyzed into action by the Afrikan human rights revolt that had begun a decade earlier and further energized by the growing opposition to the regime's imperial war against the peoples of Indochina — Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The European anti-imperialist political prisoners and prisoners of war are the offspring of this fundamental European class struggle against the capitalist order. Largely veterans of student movements of the 1960s and early 1970s, supporters of international anti-colonial struggles and the various multi-national liberation struggles within the united states, they stand accused of revolting against American imperial order.

RESISTORS



**Top Row: Kuwasi Balagoon, Nuh Washington
Teddy Jah Heath; Second Row: Merle Africa,
Richard Williams, Safiya Bukhari; Bottom
Row: Bashir Hameed, Eddie Hatcher,
Marilyn Buck**

APPENDIX II

Jericho Suggested Readings

**Prepared by: Ashanti Omowali Alston
and Adam Carpinelli**

Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. Live from Death Row. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co, 1995.

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience. Farmington, PA, USA: Plough Pub. House, 1997.

Abu-Jamal, Mumia, and Noelle Hanrahan. All Things Censored. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001.

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. We Want Freedom: A Life in the Black Panther Party. Cambridge, Massachusetts: South End Press, 2004.

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. Jailhouse Lawyers: Prisoners Defending Prisoners V. the U.S.A. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2009.
Amnesty International. The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Life in the Balance. The open pamphlet media series. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2000.

Anderson, S. E., Tony Medina, and Patricia A. Allen. In Defense of Mumia. New York: Writers and Readers Pub, 1996.

Ayers, William. Fugitive Days: A Memoir. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2001.

Berry, Mary Frances, and Sharon Washington. My Face Is Black Is True [Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations]. Griot audio. Prince Frederick, Md: Recorded Books, 2006.

Balagoon, Kuwasi. *A Soldier's Story: Writings by a Revolutionary New Afrikan Anarchist*. Montreal, Quebec: Solidarity, 2001.

Berger, Dan. *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and the Politics of Solidarity*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006.

Bisson, Terry. *On a Move: The Story of Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Litmus Books, 2000.

Bukhari, Safiya, and Laura Whitehorn. *The War Before: The True Life Story of Becoming a Black Panther, Keeping the Faith in Prison & Fighting for Those Left Behind*. New York City: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2010.

Carmichael, Stokely, and Mumia Abu-Jamal. *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism*. Chicago, Ill: Lawrence Hill Books, 2007.

Carmichael, Stokely, and Michael Thelwell. *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)*. New York: Scribner, 2003.

Carr, James, Dan Hammer, and Isaac Cronin. *BAD: The Autobiography of James Carr*. New York, N.Y.: Carroll & Graf, 1994.

Cleaver, Kathleen, and George N. Katsiaficas. *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Committee to free the SF-8. [Publications Relating to Committee to Free the SF-8]. New York, N.Y.: Committee to free the SF-8, 2007.

Friends of the New York Three. *Prisoners of War: The Case of the New York Three*. New York, N.Y.: Friends of the New York Three, 1981.

Gaucher, Robert. *Writing As Resistance: The Journal of Prisoners on Prisons Anthology (1988-2002)*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2002.

George Jackson Brigade. *The Power of the People Is the Force of Life: Political Statement of the George Jackson Brigade*. Montreal: Abraham Guillen Press, 2002.

Gilbert, David, Sundiata Acoli, and Marilyn Buck. *No Surrender: Writings from an Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoner*. Montréal: Abraham Guillen Press, 2004.

Goodell, Charles E. *Political Prisoners in America*. New York: Random House, 1973.

Hansen, Ann. *Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla*. Edinburgh: AK, 2002.

Hoffman, Anita, and Abbie Hoffman. *To America with Love: Letters from the Underground*. New York: Stonehill Pub. Co, 1976.

Jacobs, Ron. *The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground*. London: Verso, 1997.

Jackson, George. *Blood in My Eye*. New York: Random House, 1972.

Jackson, George. *Soledad Brother; The Prison Letters of George Jackson*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1970.

James, Joy. *Imprisoned Intellectuals: America's Political Prisoners Write on Life, Liberation, and Rebellion*. Transformative politics series. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

King, Robert Hillary. *From the Bottom of the Heap: The Autobiography of Black Panther Robert Hillary King*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009.

Law, Vikki. *Resistance Behind Bars: The Struggles of Incarcerated Women*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009.

Lindorff, Dave. *Killing Time: An Investigation into the Death Row Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Monroe, Me: Common Courage Press, 2003.

Mandela, Winnie, Anne Benjamin, and Mary Benson. *Part of My Soul Went with Him*. New York: Norton, 1985.

Meyer, Matt. *Let Freedom Ring: A Collection of Documents from the Movements to Free U.S. Political Prisoners*. Montreal, Quebec: Kersplebedeb, 2008.

National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. *Can't Jail the Spirit: Political Prisoners in the U.S. : A Collection of Biographies*. Chicago, IL: Editorial El Coquí, 1988.

N'Zinga, Shaka, and Robin D. G. Kelley. *A Dis-jointed Search for the Will to Live*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Soft Skull, 2003.

Oglesby, Carl. *Ravens in the Storm: A Personal History of the 1960s Antiwar Movement*. New York: Scribner, 2008.

Rosebraugh, Craig, and Jalil Muntaqim. *This Country Must Change: Essays on the Necessity of Revolution in the USA*. Arissa Media Group, 2009.

Rodriguez, Dylan. *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the U.S. Prison Regime*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Saro-Wiwa, Ken, and William Boyd. *A Month and a Day: A Detention Diary*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin Books, 1995.

Shakur, Assata. *Assata: An Autobiography*. Westport, Conn: L. Hill, 1987.
Washington, Albert Nuh. *All Power to the People*. Toronto: Arm the Spirit, 2002.

Weather Underground Organization. *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism : the Political Statement of the Weather Underground*. [San Francisco]: Communications Co, 1974.

Weinglass, Leonard. *Race for Justice: Mumia Abu-Jamal's Fight against the Death Penalty*. Monroe, Me: Common Courage Press, 1995.

Wilkerson, Cathy. *Flying Close to the Sun: My Life and Times As a Weatherman*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007.

Williams, Daniel R. *Executing Justice: An Inside Account of the Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001.

Prison Abolition, Police and Political Repression

Ahrens, Lois. *The Real Cost of Prisons Comix*. Oakland, Calif: PM Press, 2008.

Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: New Press, 2010.

Ayers, William. *Fugitive Days: A Memoir*. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2001.

Berry, Mary Frances, and Sharon Washington. *My Face Is Black Is True [Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations]*. Griot audio. Prince Frederick, Md: Recorded Books, 2006.

Black Powder Press. *COINTELPRO: The Danger We Face*. Sacramento, CA: Black Powder Press, 2005.

Blackstock, Nelson. *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*. New York: Anchor Foundation, 1988.

Burton-Rose, Daniel. *GUERRILLA USA: The George Jackson Brigade and the Anticapitalist Under-ground of the 1970s*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010.

Burton-Rose, Daniel. *Creating a Movement with Teeth: A documentary History of the GJB*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010.

Carr, James, Dan Hammer, and Isaac Cronin. *BAD: The Autobiography of James Carr*. New York, N.Y.: Carroll & Graf, 1994.

- Center for Research on Criminal Justice (Berkeley, Calif.). *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An Analysis of the U.S. Police*. Berkeley, Calif: Center for Research on Criminal Justice, 1977.
- Chinosole. *Schooling the Generations in the Politics of Prison*. [S.I.]: Afrikan/Black Prison Education Fund, 1997.
- Churchill, Ward. 2003. "II INTERNATIONALISTS AND ANTI-IMPERIALISTS - Agents of Repression: Withstanding the Test of Time". *Social Justice: a Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order*. 30, no 2: 44
- Churchill, Ward, and Jim Vander Wall. *Cages of Steel: The Politics of Imprisonment in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Maitsonneuve Press, 1992.
- Churchill, Ward, and Jim Vander Wall. *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars against Domestic Dissent*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990.
- Churchill, Ward, and Jim Vander Wall. *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988.
- Cleaver, Kathleen, and George N. Katsiaficas. *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- CR10 Publications Collective. *Abolition Now!: Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008.
- Cunningham, David. *There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, the Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence*. The George Gund Foundation imprint in African American studies. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Cummins, Eric. *The Rise and Fall of California's Radical Prison Movement*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Davenport, Christian. 2005. "Understanding Covert Repressive Action". *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49, no. 1: 120-140.
- Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003.
- Davis, Angela. *Abolition Democracy Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005.
- Davis, Angela Y. *If They Come in the Morning; Voices of Resistance*. New York: Third Press, 1971
- Drabble, J. 2007. "From White Supremacy to White Power: the FBI, COINTELPRO-White Hate, and the Nazification of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s". *American Studies*. 48, no. 3: 49-74.
- Drabble, John. 2004. "To Ensure Domestic Tranquility: The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE and Political Discourse, 1964-1971". *Journal of American Studies*. 38, no. 2: 297-328.
- Gaither, L. V. *Loss of Empire: Legal Lynching, Vigilantism, and African American Intellectualism in the 21st-Century*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006.
- Gaucher, Robert. *Writing As Resistance: The Journal of Prisoners on Prisons Anthology (1988-2002)*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2002.
- George Jackson Brigade. *The Power of the People Is the Force of Life: Political Statement of the George Jackson Brigade*. Montreal: Abraham Guillen Press, 2002.
- Gelderloos, Peter. *How Nonviolence Protects the State*. Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2007.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. American crossroads, 21. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Glick, Brian. *War at Home: Covert Action against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1989.

Haas, Jeffrey. *The Assassination of Fred Hampton: How the FBI and the Chicago Police Murdered a Black Panther*. Chicago, Ill: Lawrence Hill Books/Chicago Review Press, 2010.

Horne, Gerald. *Black Liberation/Red Scare: Ben Davis and the Communist Party*. Newark, Del: University of Delaware Press, 1994.

James, Joy. *Warfare in the American Homeland: Policing and Prison in a Penal Democracy*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

James, Joy. *The New Abolitionists: (Neo) Slave Narratives and Contemporary Prison Writings*. SUNY series, philosophy and race. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

James, Joy. *Resisting State Violence: Radicalism, Gender, and Race in U.S. Culture*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Jeffries, J. L. *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2006.

Kessler, Ronald. *The Bureau: The Secret History of the FBI*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002.

King, Robert Hillary. *From the Bottom of the Heap: The Autobiography of Black Panther Robert Hillary King*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009.

Knopp, Fay Honey, Barbara Boward, and Mark O. Morris. *Instead of Prisons: A Handbook for Abolitionists*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Prison Research Education Action Project, 1976.

Kunstler, William M., Michael Steven Smith, Karin Kunstler Goldman, and Sarah Kunstler. *The Emerging Police State: Resisting Illegitimate Authority*. Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2004.

Law, Vikki. *Resistance Behind Bars: The Struggles of Incarcerated Women*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009.

Newton, Michael. *The FBI and the KKK: A Critical History*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co, 2005.

Parenti, Christian. *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*. London: Verso, 2000.

Prison Research Education Action Project. *Instead of Prisons: A Handbook for Abolitionists*. Oakland, CA: Critical Resistance, 2005.

Redden, Jim. *Snitch Culture: How Citizens Are Turned into the Eyes and Ears of the State*. Venice, Calif: Feral House, 2000.

Sudbury, Julia. *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2005.

Sudbury, Julia. 2009. "Maroon Abolitionists: Black Gender-Oppressed Activists in the Anti-Prison Movement in the U.S. and Canada". *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*. 9, no. 1: 1-29.

United States. COINTELPRO The Counterintelligence Program of the FBI. Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1978.

Viehmman, Klaus, Gabriel Kuhn, and Bill Dunne. *Prison Round Trip*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009.

Williams, Evelyn. *Inadmissible Evidence: The Story of the African-American Trial Lawyer Who Defended the Black Liberation Army*. Chicago, Ill: Lawrence Hill Books, 1993.

Wideman, John Edgar. Philadelphia Fire: A Novel. New York: Holt, 1990.

Indigenous/Native American Struggles

M. Annette Jaimes, Delinda Wunder (Foreword by) The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance. South End Press, Boston, 1992

Messerschmidt, James W. The Trial of Leonard Peltier. Boston: South End Press, 1983

Peltier, Leonard, and Harvey Arden. Prison Writings: My Life is My Sundance. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Black/New African Liberation Struggles

Bin Wahad, Dhoruba, Mumia Abu-Jamal, As-sata Shakur, Jim Fletcher, Tanaquil Jones, and Sylvère Lotringer. Still Black, Still Strong: Survivors of the U.S. War against Black Revolutionaries. Semiotext(e) active agents series. New York: Semiotext(e), 1993.

Civil Rights Congress (U.S.). We Charge Genocide; The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government against the Negro People. New York: International Publishers, 1970.

Kornweibel, Theodore. Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919-1925. Blacks in the Diaspora. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Muntaqim, Jalil. On the Black Liberation Army. Montreal: Abraham Guillen Press & Arm the Spirit, 2002.

Muntaqim, Jalil A. We Are Our Own Liberators Selected Prison Writings. Arissa Media Group, 2009.

Nobo Journal of Africanamerican Dialogue #1: Black Prison Movements USA: The Nobo Journal of Africanamerican Dialogue, Network Of Black Org, Africa World Press.

Williams, Robert F., and Marc Schleifer. Negroes with Guns. Chicago: Third World Press, 1973.

Animal and Earth Liberation Struggles

Best, Steven, and Anthony J. Nocella. Igniting a Revolution: Voices in Defense of the Earth. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006.

Pickering, Leslie James. The Earth Liberation Front 1997-2002. Portland, Or.: Arissa Media Group, 2007

Islamic Struggle

Al-Amin, Jalil.(H. Rap Brown) Die Nigger Die! Chicago,IL:Lawrence Hill Books, 1969

Al-Amin, Jamil. Revolution by the Book: (the Rap Is Live). Beltsville, Md: Writers' Inc.-International, 1993.

Asian Struggle

Fujino, Diane Carol. Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama. Critical American studies series. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Ho, Fred Wei-han, and Carolyn Antonio. Legacy to Liberation: Politics & Culture of Revolutionary Asian Pacific America. Edinburgh: AK, 2000.

Puerto Rican Independence Struggle

Campos, Pedro Albizu. Writings of Pedro Albizu Campos: Gordon Press Publishers, 1993

Hawaii Independence Struggle

Churchill,Ward (Editor) and Sharon H. Venne (Editor); Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa (Hawaiian language editor). Island In Capavity. Boston, South End Press, 2005

Struggle in the Philippines

We work in solidarity with Filipino women political prisoners workers in New York.

Struggle of the Basque

Kurlansky, Mark. Basque history of the World. Knopf, 1999

The War Against Immigrants

Potential allies here in the u.s. whom we rarely speak out for. Mass and racist incarceration victims along with many of our own targeted communities.

The LGBTIQQA Struggle

People of different lifestyles, sexualities need to be defended and Jericho should not be afraid to do so, regardless of what we may feel as individuals (i.e. our own differences, sexism and homophobia).

The Struggle Against Forgetting/Remembering

We need to understand more about how historical trauma/amnesia, intergenerational trauma from anti-colonial perspectives can help us see more clearly communities' pathologic allegiance to The Empire & White Supremacy & the american flag waving hysteria. Why are we our own worst enemies? Different readings from folks who have been putting a lot of thought into it. How can we incorporate new thinkings into our outreach and organizing?

Organizing and Being Proactive

We need to read up on new ways that people are organizing and fighting back instead of pretty much doing the same old same old of the last 40 years.

APPENDIX III

Jericho Chapters

National Jericho Movement: www.thejerichomovement.com, P.O. Box 1272, New York, NY 10013
nationaljericho@gmail.com

Albuquerque Jericho Movement: P.O. Box 40473, Albuquerque, NM 87196
www.albq-jericho.org • albq.jericho@gmail.com
646-271-4677

Cleveland Jericho Movement: P.O. Box 201923, Shaker Hts, OH 44120
cle.jericho@gmail.com • 216-645-0714

Jericho Amnesty Coalition LA: c/o ARA, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232 • 310-495-0299;
antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com • www.geocities.com/jerichoamnestycoalitionla

New Jersey Jericho Movement: jerseyjericho@gmail.com • contact: 973-738-2205

New York City Jericho Movement: P.O. Box 1272, New York, NY 10013 • 917-544-1577
www.jerichony.org • nycjericho@gmail.com

Oregon Jericho Movement: P.O. Box 17420, Portland, OR 97217
www.oregon-jericho.org • oregon.jericho@gmail.com • 503-750-0523

Philadelphia Jericho Movement: c/o The A-Space, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 215-604-1759 (leave message) • email: PhillyJericho@riseup.net

Seattle Jericho: c/o Ed Mead, P.O. Box 47439, Seattle, WA 98146-7439
info@seattlejericho.com • www.seattlejericho.com • 206-271-5003